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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a sociogeographic analysis of female literacy in India and compares literacy rates of females and males in scheduled (reported separately on the census) and nonscheduled (reported as one group on the census) castes. In Indian cities, male literacy is higher than female literacy, and literacy rates are higher for nonscheduled caste females than scheduled caste females. In most cities, the disparity between gender literacy rates is lower, and this is also true within the castes. Social movements in India are examined to offer explanations for the literacy patterns within regions. Community populations containing either Moslems who generally lower or Christians who generally raise literacy rates can also be responsible for the disparity. The analysis concludes that female literacy is part of a larger societal context. Maps and graphs are included, as well as a list of the 128 cities analyzed in this study. (DJC)

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FEMALE LITERACY IN INDIA: THE URBAN DIMENSION

by

Saraswati Raju

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FEMALE LITERACY IN INDIA: THE URBAN DIMENSION

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Introduction

A consistent feature of Indian society has been a very low literacy among scheduled castes as against nonscheduled castes consequent upon socially enforced deprivation of former group.[1] Within the two segments a further disparity in literacy exists between male and female components whereby literacy among females exhibits a perpetual low profile. Thus, at the turn of the century literacy rate for females in general was only 0.60 percent compared to 9.83 percent for males. After a gap of eight decades including three decades of planned development, female literacy is 24.82 percent as against 46.89 percent for males (Nuna 1986: 2-3). However, in urban areas, especially in cities, the disparity between the two sexes is lower both for nonscheduled and scheduled caste population. It is of interest to note that a corresponding lowering of disparity in literacy between nonscheduled and scheduled castes does not occur (Kundu 1986: 446).

As pointed out by Sopher (1980: 130), in India, impact of Christianity, spread of secular Western notions of egalitarianism and modernisation, working towards narrowing down of such disparities, have interacted with region-specific traditional context that accord women (and scheduled castes) their place in society differently. The resultant distribution of both male/female and nonscheduled/scheduled castes disparities in literacy are highly uneven across the geographic space of India. There is no denial that the regional context remains vital and that it transgresses the rural-urban distinction.[2] It may, however, be argued that such transgression would be minimum in cities. Consequently, the relative deprivation of scheduled castes and females in general would not have much variation in space. This contention is, of course, based on an expectation that the level of services, motivation and stimulation for diffusion of literacy are uni-

formly available in urban situations. What is intriguing is that instead of a more homogeneous social surface and a distinct urban ambience independent of regional constraints, the cities follow the regional pattern where they are located more closely.

Based on 1981 census data, this paper undertakes a sociogeographic analysis of female literacy both for nonscheduled and scheduled caste segments of population in class I cities of India.[3] Their literacy is examined in relation to literacy levels of corresponding male counterparts. Viewed thus, the sex and caste disparities that exist provide insights into biases towards females and scheduled castes. In India, these biases have regional variation and seem to very along a north-south dimension. Finally, in order to interpret the pattern, a number of socioeconomic correlates of female literacy such as, presence of those communities which foster female literacy or vice-versa and composition of work-force are identified. The relative position of major localities, as far their literacy status is concerned, seems to be essentially the same as it has been since long and whatever breakthrough is visible has been because of various social movement. They have also been taken into account in the explanatory framework.

Background Information

An overview of the geography of literacy shows that both male/female and nonscheduled/scheduled caste literacy vary widely across India, the frequency curve for them being highly skewed (Figs. 1 and 2). In every city, male literacy is higher than female literacy; the nonscheduled caste female literacy is likewise everywhere higher than scheduled caste female literacy. However, as compared to males, the inter-city variation is greater in female literates for both the groups (Table 1).

Table 1. Male and female literacy and disparity, 1981

Literacy	Mean value	Coefficient of variation	Disparity	Highest value	Lowest value
Male	66.70	12.57	.198	84.28 (Trichur)	30.21 (Sambhal)
Female	48.78	21.28		78.87 (Trichur)	18.52 (Sambhal)
Nonscheduled male	68.90	11.98	.178	85.32 (Trichur)	30.84 (Sambhal)
Nonscheduled female	51.58	19.91		80.20 (Trichur)	19.28 (Sambhal)
Scheduled male	48.32	24.47	.342	79.76 (Alleppey)	20.21 (Sambhal)
Scheduled female	25.56	50.64		69.64 (Alleppey)	04.62 (Amroha)

Despite the disparity that exists between male and female literacy rates, the two are themselves highly correlated (r = .898) indicating a close spatial covariation of the two rates. This highly significant positive correlation between the two rates sustains equally well when the population is further divided into nonscheduled and scheduled segments (r = .889 and .875 respectively, Table 2).

The high spatial covariation between male and female literacy is not accompanied by identical rates of increase in literacy for both the sexes. With the increase in male and female literacy, the disparity between the two reduces (Fig. 3).[4] However, the decrease is more marked if the female literacy increases as is evident from a fairly strong correlation between female literacy and sex disparity (r = -.881) as compared to a moderately negative one with male literacy (r= -.634).

Table 2. Correlation Matrix (N = 218)

	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6	X_7	X_8	X_9	X_{10}	X_{11}
X_1	1.00										
X_2	.086	1.00									
X_3	.118	.891*	1.00								
X_4	.169	.892*	.898*	1.00							
X_5	.110	.875*	.982*	.868*	1.00						
X_6	.169	.885*	.889*	.984*	.889*	1.00					
X_7	.143	.563*	.633*	.642*	.525*	.566*		1.00			
X_8	.150	.559*	.568*	.691*	.473**	.603*		.875*	1.00		
X_9	-.002	-.176	-.156	-.204	-.050	-.070		-.200	-.228	1.00	
X_{10}	-.037	-.475**	-.523*	-.478**	-.593*	-.552*		-.052	-.031	-.257	1.00
X_{11}	-.000	.345	.317	.391**	.283	.356		.267	.393**	-.082	-.125	1.00

* $p > 0.01$ ** $P > 0.05$

X_1 Population of the City

X_2 Total literacy

X_3 Male literacy

X_4 Female literacy

X_5 Nonscheduled caste male literacy

X_6 Nonscheduled caste female literacy

X_7 Scheduled caste male literacy

X_8 Scheduled caste female literacy

X_9 Scheduled caste population

X_{10} Muslim population

X_{11} Christian population

Sex and Caste Disparity

Sopher in his study of literacy in India concludes that in terms of literacy women "are indeed a 'depressed class'." This observation is largely consequent upon, along with other variables, the sex disparity in literacy within scheduled castes and the rest of population being greater than class (caste) disparity in literacy within the same sex (Sopher 1980: 168). A somewhat similar position is taken by Nuna (1986) when he argues that it is the female literacy which has suffered the most in the faulty process of development.

While it is true that there are desperate gaps between male and female literacy levels, they both are very significantly correlated as has been pointed out earlier. Compared to this, the spatial covariation in literacy between males and females of nonscheduled and scheduled castes is weaker ($r = .525$ and $.603$). Consequently, the sex disparities within these two groups covary in a more significant manner ($r = .793$) relative to covariation in caste disparities in literacy ($r = .586$). This is not in any way a statistical artefact, an outcome of the way in which disparities have been formulated, but a social one. What is being demonstrated is the same stronger gender relation among male and female literates in respective nonscheduled and scheduled caste populations. As the level of male literacy does not vary much, the main contributing factor in the sex disparities among castes is the female component of the matrix, i.e., literacy rates for nonscheduled and scheduled caste females. These rates have to be fairly closely related in order to result in a highly associated pattern of variation of sex disparity. It can be seen that this association is supplanted by a stronger alliance between male and female components of nonscheduled and scheduled castes. That is to say, the distinction is between nonscheduled and scheduled castes as two different social groups. The latter is underprevileged as a whole in terms of their literacy status in cities of India.

The lower rates of urban literacy are thus not peculiar to women only, a contention which is substantiated by observations made by Kundu (1986: 446) where he notes that, " . . . although urbanisation helps in bringing down the disparity in literacy rates between males and females in all segments of Indian population . . ., such healthy effects are not perceived in case of disparities between the social segments. The disparity between the scheduled caste and the remaining population, for example, is higher for the urban areas. . . ."

Perhaps we cannot view women as a homogeneous group nor can we assume gender-oriented discrimination to prevail. There are several studies which indicate very clearly that the process of development, however we define it, has inadvertently widened the gap between the rich and the poor (Swaminathan 1975). Women as a part of overall situation also face the consequences albeit in a more contrived manner. To their scheduled caste status is added their status as females making them a step down on the ladder in literacy attainment as Raza and Aggarwal (1983: 2) put it, "The relative deprivation of women in the field of education is particularly significant because it underlines all other attributes of deprivations. The scheduled caste are deprived, no doubt; but the scheduled caste women are more deprived than their men folk." This is not to be taken as contrasting with my earlier argument that scheduled castes on the whole, as underprivileged, are subjugated to a certain kind of treatment as a class. Compared to nonscheduled castes, they are. A further marginality of their female counterparts is related to limitations imposed by Indian society on women in general.

As far relative deprivation of scheduled castes in urban literacy is concerned, it may be because of their restricted access to occupational avenues which are available in cities. In fact, this relationship is seen as somewhat circular, in that the low literacy of scheduled castes hinders their active participation in gainful work and those activities where they can be absorped

do not generally require any literacy level as an essential prerequisite (Raju 1981: 28-9). Consequently, among the migrants, the nonscheduled caste population has a relatively higher literacy rate as compared to scheduled castes (Kundu 1986: 446). Another finding confirms this observation, i.e., migrants possessing higher levels of literacy attainment though the pointed reference is towards male migrants in general (Premi 1985: 46-56). However, given the situation, it is not very difficult to assume that a major proportion of these literate migrants consists of nonscheduled caste population.

Geographic Pattern of Sex and Caste Disparity

The discussion of literacy itself is a necessary prelude to the consideration of the disparities between nonscheduled/scheduled as well as male/female population.

The map showing the distribution of female literacy brings out two broad areas of contiguous cities within the same class interval (Fig. 4). The west coast from Gujarat right upto the southern tip of Kerala, parts of Tamilnadu in the south, Punjab, Haryana, and West Bengal in the north are areas of highest literacy. The pattern in the northern plains and and the southern plateau is uneven. Cities which record lowest female literacy are scattered. However, Uttar Pradesh accounts for the maximum numbers of such cities. In sum, the geographically peripheral areas in the Indian space have the concentration of cities with high female literacy.

An attempt is made later in the discussion to identify the socio-economic correlates to interpret the observed pattern but it may be noted in passing that coastal areas in India have historically been areas of high literacy. In general, the explanation lies in their overseas contacts. Because of a longer and a more continuous contact with outside, the west coast is supposed to be more literate as compared to the east coast (Gosal 1964: 272-4). As pointed out

by Sopher (1980: 136), precisely how outside contacts foster literacy; by creating a demand for increased literacy or by enhancing the awareness about the value of literacy is not clearly stated.

The distribution of sex disparities form a pattern which has an inverse association with female literacy (Fig. 5). That is, the cities with high female literacy are characterised by lower disparities between male and female literacy levels, a relationship which has already been brought to notice. Though the relative position of different regions remain essentially the same, a somewhat clearer differentiation between north and south begins to appear, especially if the south-central band covering approximately the former state of Hyderabad (parts of present Maharashtra, north-east Karnataka and western Andhra Pradesh) having high sex disparity in literacy is ignored. The emergence of former Hyderabad state as a plateau in an otherwise low surface of sex disparity in literacy has a historical antecedent (Sopher 1980: 138). This point has been further explored in the subsequent discussion.

Social Movements in India: Some Plausible Explanations

In terms of sex disparity in literacy, Punjab and West Bengal in the northern plain are exceptions where cities are characterised by very low values. Sopher (1980: 183), in his study of sex disparity in Indian literacy argues that the geographically peripheral localities where sex disparities in general are low are also marginal in the Indian cultural realm. Hence they represent marked departures from Hindu social norms which customarily places female literacy at a low priority. He cites Assam, Bengal and Punjab as examples where there exists a "low proportion of Brahmans in the population, a simple, somewhat fluid traditional caste structure and a large Muslim minority" and also low sex disparities in literacy. Despite an initially sound thesis, such an explanation is open to debate.

One of the essential components of rigid Indian caste system is a distinct scheduled caste presence along with a cleraly defined and mutually exclusive (from nonscheduled caste population) social boundary for them. By implication, therefore, these 'marginal' areas should also exhibit a less pronounced structure of disparities among nonscheduled and scheduled castes. However, no such pattern is visible. In fact, disparities have a distinctly demostrated north-south dimension (Fig. 6). Haryana, Punjab and West Bengal, the spatially marginal states share with Bihar, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, a scenario where disparities in literacy between castes are maximum. Thus, in this regard, there is no deviation of the marginal states from the centrally located states in the northern plain. Why this should be so is an intriguing question.

There are several other discordant local patterns which necessitate a further probe. As pointed out earlier, the relative deprivation is more pronounced between nonscheduled and scheduled segments of population as compared to male and female components. However, for the former Hyderabad state this relationship does not seem to hold. Interestingly enough, this region is characterised by higher values for sex disparity associated with lower caste disparities. That is, the distinction between male and female literacy levels is more marked than the disparities between nonscheduled and scheduled caste population, a situation which is much at variance with all India level.

At this point, the search for explanation must turn to investigation of social movements in India which are critical for upliftment of women and/or scheduled casts. However, let me deviate from the main discussion in order to bring in another dimension which ultimately links with the contemporary pattern of female literacy.

In India, despite a planned intervention for diffusion of literacy, the relative position of major regions (in terms of female literacy) is basically the

same as it has been since the turn of the century. The urban literacy is no exception and the cities which record high levels of female literacy are located in those areas which have been above the national average since 1901. Similarly, cities with low rates of female literacy are located in those regions which have always been characterised by low female literacy. Superimposition of a map of female literacy on another map showing the consistency therein elucidate the historicity of the phenomena most succinctly (Fig. 7).

As stated earlier, if one is to obtain a clearer outline of social lineaments that have constrained Indian women's as well as scheduled castes' access to literacy in a given area, the significance of social movements together with their ideological positions have to be properly interpreted.

In the present analysis, Haryana, Punjab and West Bengal emerge as areas with very low to low sex disparities in literacy. It may be recalled that it was during the second half of the nineteenth century that the Arya Samaj arose in Punjab and its surroundings as a response to conversion to Christianity and Islam among outcastes. It attempted to rectify the defects of rigidity within Hinduism through questioning the existing bases of castes and all injustice and human wastage it produced. It was also a movement directed against the British. Inevitably, the Hindu identity was to be pushed; existence of caste structure was inherent to it but it was the Vedic notion of four varnas where caste membership was not ascriptive by birth but by the kind of life one led. However, it was not a movement to elevate the "untouchables,"that is, the scheduled castes and they remained, by and large, in the periphery even in the new scheme of things. Although those who had converted to other religions were reclaimed through Shuddhi or purification, their social status remained as problematic as ever ((Heimsath 1963: 113-30; Jones 1979: 7-11; Parvathamma 1983: 104-5). What is important to make note of is that education of women was central

Women were cosidered equal to men. Capable to achieve emancipation, they were to be accorded rights commensurate with their abilities (Heimsath 1964:120).

The parallel Brahmo Samaj movement in Bengal also did not repudiate Hinduism and it was not directed at bringing about social equality among different segment of society. However, the movement can be "credited with establishing a major objective of all Indian social reform movements, the social freedom and cultural advancement of Hindu women (Heimsath 1964: 91). Other social reforms of mid-century Bengal were also closely linked with issues related to women such as, widow remarriage, abolition of polygamy and above all prohibition of Sati. (Ibid: 74-97; Jordens 1975).

If indeed the facts relating to the historicity of uneven pattern of female literacy and its sustenance through decades is taken as established, then the small sex disparities in literacy in Bengal, Punjab and its neighborhood may well be understood within the framework of social reforms so articulated in favor of women.

The case of Kerala needs no elaboration as the circumstances which fostered female literacy there are too well known to obviate the need for detailed treatment. It may, however, be noted that the high literacy in females associated with a very low sex disparity in Kerala is essentially attributed to a sustained history of traditional learning together with an early start in Western education, both private and under princely patronage (Sopher 1980: 137).

While the early reform movements, such as the ones outlined above, were not concerned with scheduled castes per se, movements arose from within the backward sections with a different, a more radical, aggressive, and militant which were clearly directed against upper castes and classes (Rao 1979: 10). One of the earliest movements was that of Waddars in Karnataka. Subsequent upon their sedentarisation, the emergence of higher aspirations and educational attain-

ment, the Waddars started claiming higher status through appropriate myths and this claim provided the basic ideology for their movement (Bhat 1978: 169-89; Rao 1979: xvi).[5]

Another regional movement of relevance in the present analysis is the one formulated by Sri Narayana Guru Swamy among the toddy-tappers Izhavas, a numerically strong group in Kerala. A detailed discussion of the social reforms is not within the scope of this paper. It suffices to note that parity in educational opportunities with others was very much a part of the movement to raise the social status of Izhavas (Rao 1979: 30-1).

Maharashtra is characterised by a series of social movements essentially directed against the supremacy of a few high caste groups. In 1873, Phule began his Satyashodhak (Search for Truth) Samaj; the aim was to save the "lower castes from the hypocritical Brahmins and their opportunistic scriptures."[7] As stated by Heimsath, the Samaj later became the nucleus of a movement in Maharashtra which was to have profound reverberations on social and political life in the 20th century (1964: 103). Later it was under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar that the Mahars of Maharashtra organised themselves with a view to fight against their scheduled caste status. Fiske (1972: 119) provides information pertaining to section of Mahars in different districts in Maharashtra who adopted Buddhism. The close correspondence between areas with high Buddhist population and low caste disparity in literacy is quite noteworthy.

Tamilnadu is an intriguing case. It is characterised by higher values for both sex and caste disparities indicating perhaps a socially less rebellious society. However, as pointed out by Heimsath (1964: 111), it was due to a very strog dominance of the Brahman castes. A structure, undisrupted by frequent Muslim and Maratha influences as compared to northern India, showed no signs then of breaking apart under any non-Brahan pressures. The Brahman themselves could not

possibly advocate any fundamental social change without at the same time seeming to undermine their hierarchical supremacy.

Other Considerations

So far the analysis is essentially confined to the female and scheduled caste components of population. The scheduled castes, by virtue of their socially and economically deprived status, are consistently found to have association with lower literacy levels than the rest of the population. Same is true about women in general. Any amelioration in these relationships seem to have strong historical underpinnings. However, there are several other communities such as Muslims and Christians whose presence in the population affect literacy. For example, Muslims have a negative association with literacy levels as observed at various levels (Krishan and Shyam 1974: 796; Sopher 1980: 162). Conversely, the share of Christians in the population tends to raise literacy.

Further, it may be argued that in the process of transition in social ethos which increasingly understands the value of education of women, level of development is of great significance. In order to gauge this, a somewhat arbitrary measure, that is, the percentage of male workers in nonagricultural occupation is taken as surrogate.

Finally, the effect of size of settlement on female literacy is evaluated. At a size-specific level, literacy does seem to increase accompanied by a decrease in sex disparity (Table3).

The result of stepwise regression of female literacy against scheduled caste population, Muslim, and Christian population, male nonagricultural workers, and size of the city is presented in Table 4. The total amount of variation accounted for is 57 percent. Three correlations remain highly significant. Female literacy increases as the Christian proportion of the population rises. On the other hand, the Muslims and the scheduled castes tend to depress the level of female literacy.

The statistical explanation thus merely confirms what has already been recognised.

Although there is a persistent although irregular increase in female literacy with city size, the relationship does not hold when the Christian, Muslim and scheduled caste population enter the equation.

Table 3. Male and female literacy by settlement size, 1981

City size	Male literacy	Female literacy	Nonsche. male lit.	Nonsche. female lit	Sche. male lit.	Sche. female lit.
1,000,000 +	69.66	53.93	71.65	56.80	53.82	31.63
500,000 to 999,999	68.22	51.55	70.16	54.21	53.56	30.89
200,000 to 499,999	66.48	48.44	68.59	51.26	48.24	24.85
100,000 to 199,999	66.13	47.72	68.46	50.55	46.46	23.95

Similarly, the male nonagricultural workers do not have any significant bearing upon female literacy.

Table 4. Stepwise regression of female literacy on selected variables

Independent Variable / Dependent Variable	Percent of variation explained
Percent of total Population	Female literacy
Christian Population	28.00 (+)
Muslim Population	41.80 (-)
Scheduled caste Population	52.90 (-)
Male Non-primary Workers	55.5 (+)
Size of the city	57.0 (+)

Note: The mathematical sign in parentheses indicate the slope of the b-coefficient.

Conclusion

Despite the apparent confusion in detail and less than satisfactory data base (because the percentage of literates is calculated out of total population which includes the age-group 0-4 also), certain broad patterns emerge whereby the distinction between the north and the south is reflected in the pattern of female literacy. Instead of having a Pan-Indian urban character independent of regional constraints, the cities follow the regional pattern of their locality more closely. Strikingly, the relative position of major regions where the cities are located seems to be essentially the same as it has been since the turn of the century. The historicity of the phenomena thus overwhelm the planned efforts to raise the female literacy even in the urban context.

In India, the women and the scheduled castes have traditionally been characterised by low levels of literacy. However, in the present analysis, the distinction is more strongly marked between nonscheduled and scheduled castes as two different groups rather than the male and female components of individual castes. That is, the caste disparity is greater than the sex disparity in literacy. This relationship weakens in those regions where social reforms directed at improving the condition of scheduled castes have been important.

Despite of their marginality in terms of literacy attainment, the levels of female literacy are very closely related with their male counterparts for both nonscheduled and scheduled caste women. As such, they may perhaps not be viewed as a homogeneous body but as a part of larger societal context, a proposion which gets amply substantiated in the present analysis.

NOTES

1. The term "scheduled" refers to specification on a constitutional "schedule" of castes deemed to have been historically "underprivileged," "deprived," or in the terminology used in earlier Indian censuses, "depressed." The list remains substantially the same as originally prepared by the British in 1935.

2. An urban agglomeration in the Indian census constitutes: (a) a city or town with contiguous outgrowth (s), the outgrowth being outside the statutory limits but falling within the boundaries of the adjoining village or villages; (b) two or more adjoining towns with their outgrowth(s); or (c) a city with one or more adjoining towns with their outgrowths all of which form a continuous spread. A city is: (a) all statutory settlements with a municipal corporation, municipal board, cantonment board or notified are etc; (b) a minimum population of 100,000 people (c) 75% population in non-primary occupation and a density of population of at least 400 per sq. km.

3. The nonscheduled caste population here consists of various groups living under a wide range of social and economic conditions but the data available in the census do not allow a further division to be made.

4. Disparity between two groups, of which different proportions possess a particular property (in this case urban literacy) is here measured by Sopher's disparity index (1980) as modified by Kundu (1986). Nonscheduled caste/scheduled caste disparity is calculated by converting the literacy rates of both the groups and also for male and female components within the groups into logits and subtracting the scheduled caste values from the nonscheduled caste values; subtracting the values for female literacy from the values for male literacy yields the male/female disparity in urban literacy. The presumption is that the behavior of the nonscheduled caste and the males, as the case may be, is more represtative of a normal situation than the behavior of the scheduled castes and the females. Therefore, the first group is taken first in the disparity pair.

5. Bhat provides a graphic account of the movement among Waddars who constitute a significant portion of scheduled castes in Karnataka. The latest division for individual scheduled caste groups is not available.

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INDIA
JAMMU AND KASHMIR
HIMACHAL PRADESH
PUNJAB
HARYANA
RAJASTHAN
UTTAR PRADESH
BIHAR
SIKKIM
ARUNACHAL PRADESH
ASSAM
NAGALAND
MEGHALAYA
MANIPUR
TRIPURA
MIZORAM
W. BENGAL
ORISSA
GUJARAT
MADHYA PRADESH
MAHARASHTRA
ANDHRA PRADESH
KARNATAKA
KERALA
TAMIL NADU
For identification of cities see Appendix I

Appendix I

List of Cities included in the Analysis

Andhra Pradesh

1. Adoni
2. Anantapur
3. Bheemavaram
4. Cuddapah
5. Eluru
6. Guntur
7. Hyderabad
8. Kakinada
9. Kurnool
10. Machilipatnam
11. Nellore
12. Nizamabad
13. Proddatur
14. Rajahmundry
15. Tenali
16. Tirupati
17. Vijaywada
18. Vishakapatnam
19. Vizianagaram
20. Warangal

Bihar

21. Arrah
22. Bermo
23. Bhagalpur
24. Bihar
25. Bokaro
26. Chapra
27. Darbhanga
28. Dhanbad
29. Gaya
30. Jamshedpur
31. Katihar
32. Ranchi
33. Munger
34. Muzaffernagar
35. Patna
36. Purnia

Gujarat

37. Ahmadabad
38. Bharuch
39. Bhavnagar
40. Jamnagar
41. Junagadh
42. Nadiad
43. Navsari
44. Patan
45. Porbunder
46. Rajkot
47. Surat
48. Vadodara
49. Wadhwan

Haryana

50. Ambala (MC)
51. Ambala (UA)
52. Bhiwani
53. Faridabad
54. Gurgaon
55. Hisar
56. Karnal
57. Panipat
58. Rohtak
59. Sonipat
60. Yamunanagar

Jammu & Kashmir

61. Jammu
62. Srinagar

Karnataka

63. Bangalore
64. Belgaum
65. Bellary
66. Bhadravati
67. Bijapur
68. Davanagere
69. Gadag-Beligere
70. Gulbarga
71. Hospet
72. Hubli-Dharwad
73. Kolar
74. Mandya
75. Mangalore
76. Mysore
77. Shimoga
78. Raichur
79. Tumkur

Kerala

80. Alleppey
81. Calicut
82. Cannanore
83. Cochin
84. Palghat
85. Quilon
86. Trichur
87. Trivandrum

Madhya Pradesh

88 Bhopal
89. Bilaspur
90. Burhanpur
91. Durg--Bhilai
92. Gwalior
93. Indore
94. Jabalpur
95. Khandwa
96. Murwara
97. Raipur
98. Ratlam
99. Rewa
100. Sagar
101. Ujjain

Maharashtra

102. Ahmadnagar
103. Akola
104. Amravati
105. Aurangabad
106. Bhiwandi
107. Bhusawal
108. Bombay
109. Chandrapur
110. Dhule
111. Gondiya
112. Ichalkaranji
113. Jalgaon
114. Jalna
115. Kolhapur
116. Latur
117. Malegaon
118. Nagpur
119. Nanded
120. Nasik
121. Parbhani
122. Pune
123. Sangli
124. Solapur
125. Thane
126. Ulhasnagar

Manipur

127. Imphal

Meghalaya

128. Shillong

Orissa

129. Bhubaneshwar
130. Brahmapur
131. Cuttack
132. Puri
133. Raurkela
134. Sambalpur

Punjab

135. Amritsar
136. Batala
137. Bathinda
138. Jalandhar
139. Ludhiana
140. Pathankot
141. Patiala

Rajasthan

142. Ajmer
143. Alwar
144. Bharatpur
145. Bhilwara
146. Bikaner
147. Ganganagar
148. Jaipur
149. Jodhpur
150. Kota
151. Sikar
152. Udaipur

Tamilnadu

153. Cuddalore
154. Coimbatore
155. Dindigul
156. Erode
157. Kanchipuram
158. Kararikkudi
159. Kumbakonam
160. Madras
161. Madurai
162. Nagercoil
163. Pollachi
164. Rajapalaiyam
165. Salem
166. Thanjavur
167. Tiruchchirappalli
168. Tirunelveli
169. Tiruppur
170. Tuticorin
171. Valparai
172. Vellore

Tripura

173. Agartala

Uttar Pradesh

174. Agra
175. Aligarh
176. Allahabad
177. Amroha
178. Bareilly
179. Bulandshahr
180. Dehra Dun
181. Etawah
182. Faridabad
183. Farrukhabad
184. Firozabad
185. Ghaziabad
186. Gorakhpur
187. Hapur
188. Hardwar
189. Jaunpur
190. Jhansi
191. Kanpur
192. Lucknow
193. Mathura
194. Meerut
195. Mirzapur
196. Moradabad
197. Muzaffarnagar
198. Rampur
199. Shahjahanpur
200. Saharanpur
201. Sambhal
202. Sitapur
203. Varanasi

West Bengal

204. Asansol
205. Baharampur
206. Balurghat
207. Bardhaman
208. Calcutta
209. Durgapur
210. Habra
211. Kharagpur
212. Nabadwip
213. Ondal
214. Siliguri
215. Raniganj

Union Territories

216. Chandigarh
217. Delhi
218. Pondicherry

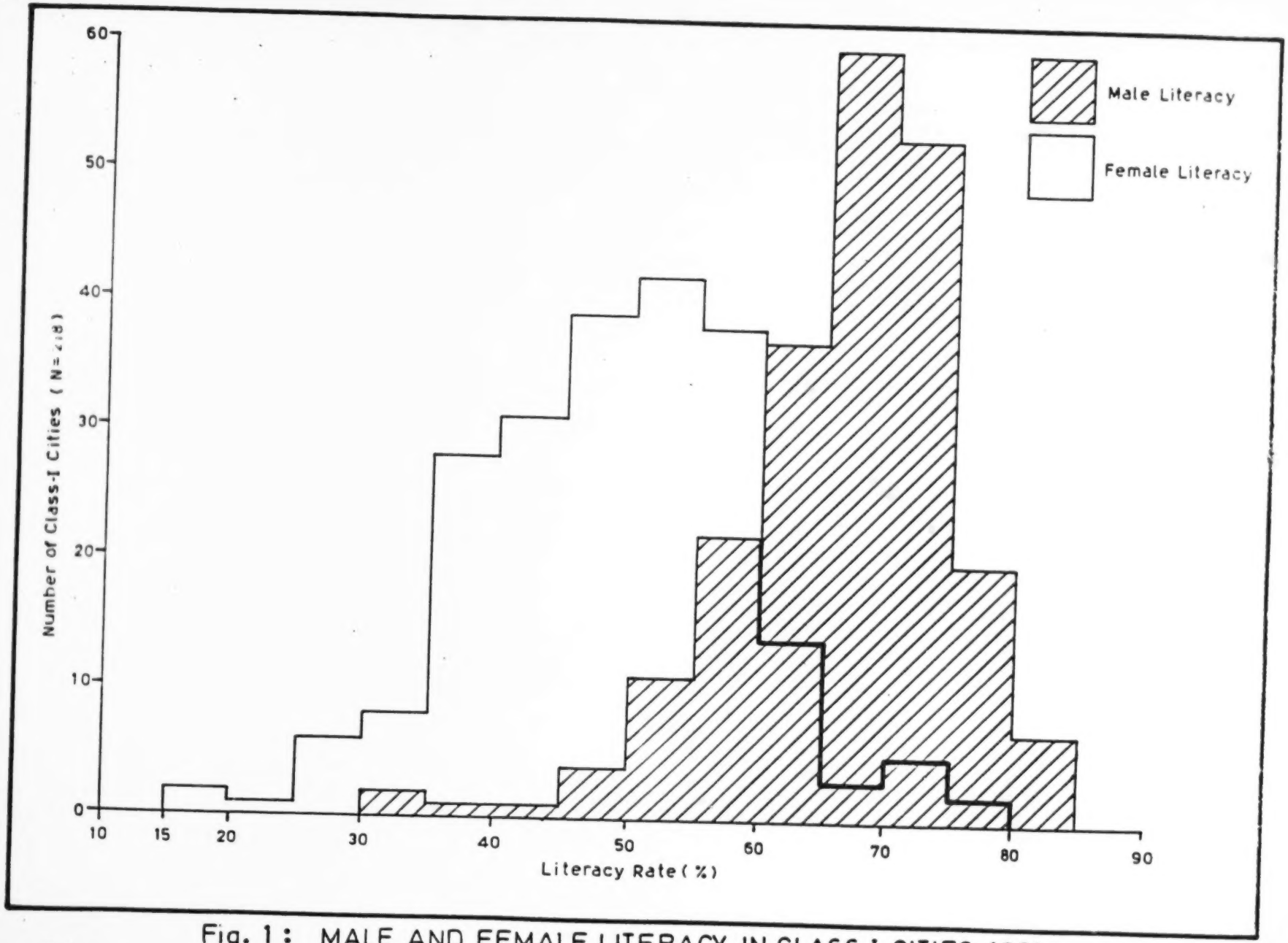

Fig. 1 : MALE AND FEMALE LITERACY IN CLASS-I CITIES, 1981

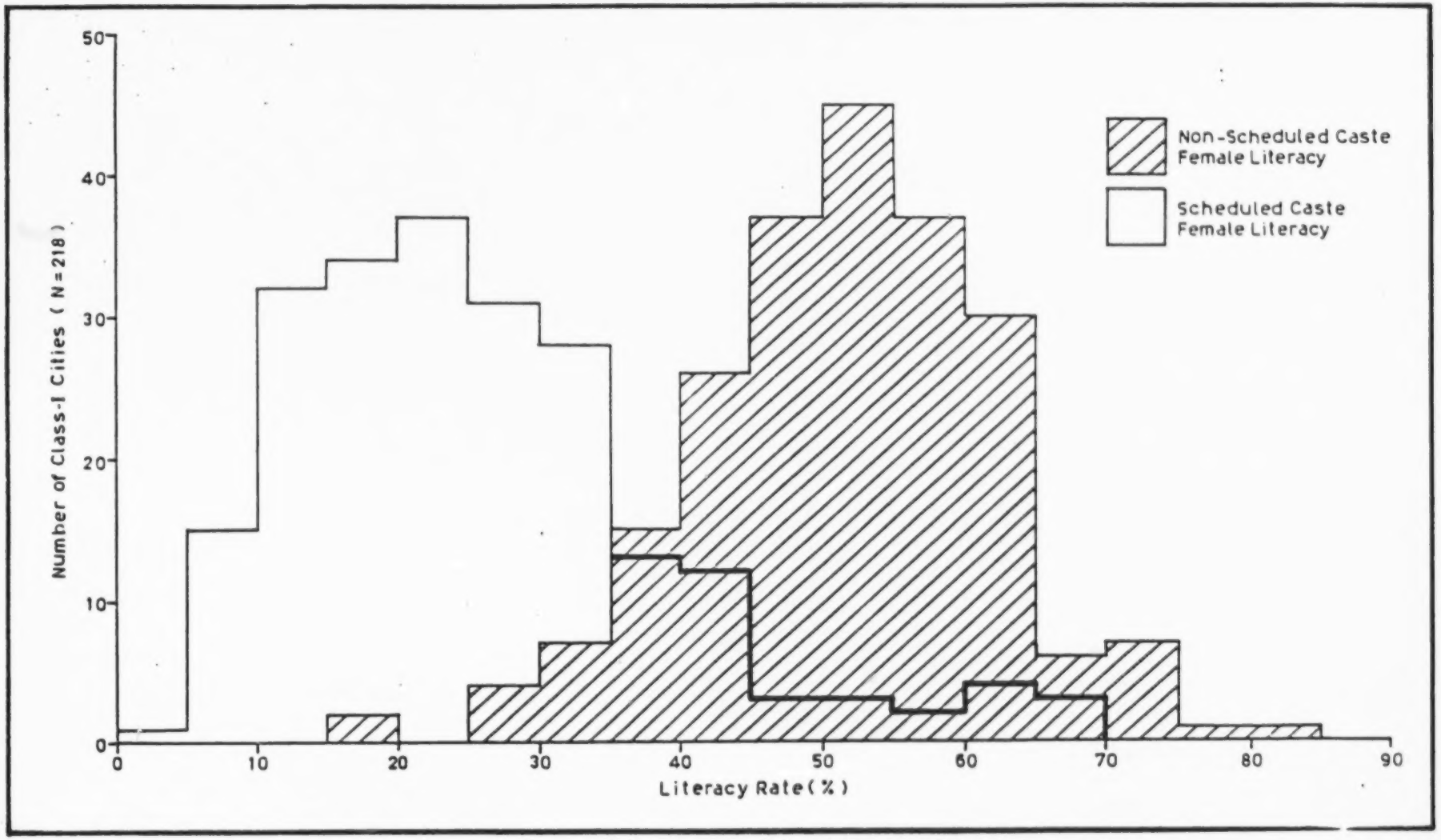

Fig. 2 : NON-SCHEDULED CASTE AND SCHEDULED CASTE FEMALE LITERACY IN CLASS-I CITIES, 1981

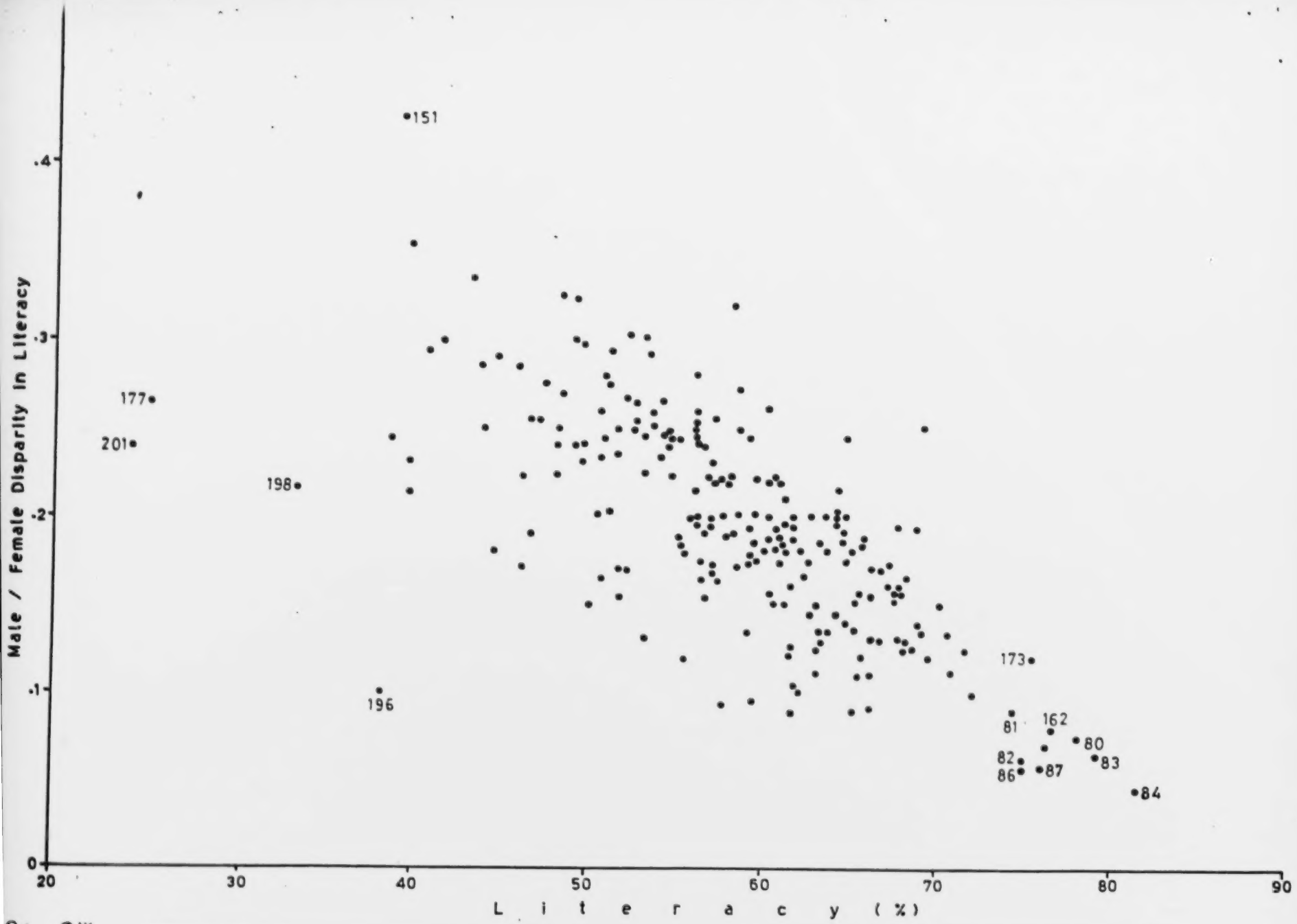

Fig. 3 : LEVEL AND SEX DISPARITY IN LITERACY IN CLASS-I CITIES, 1981

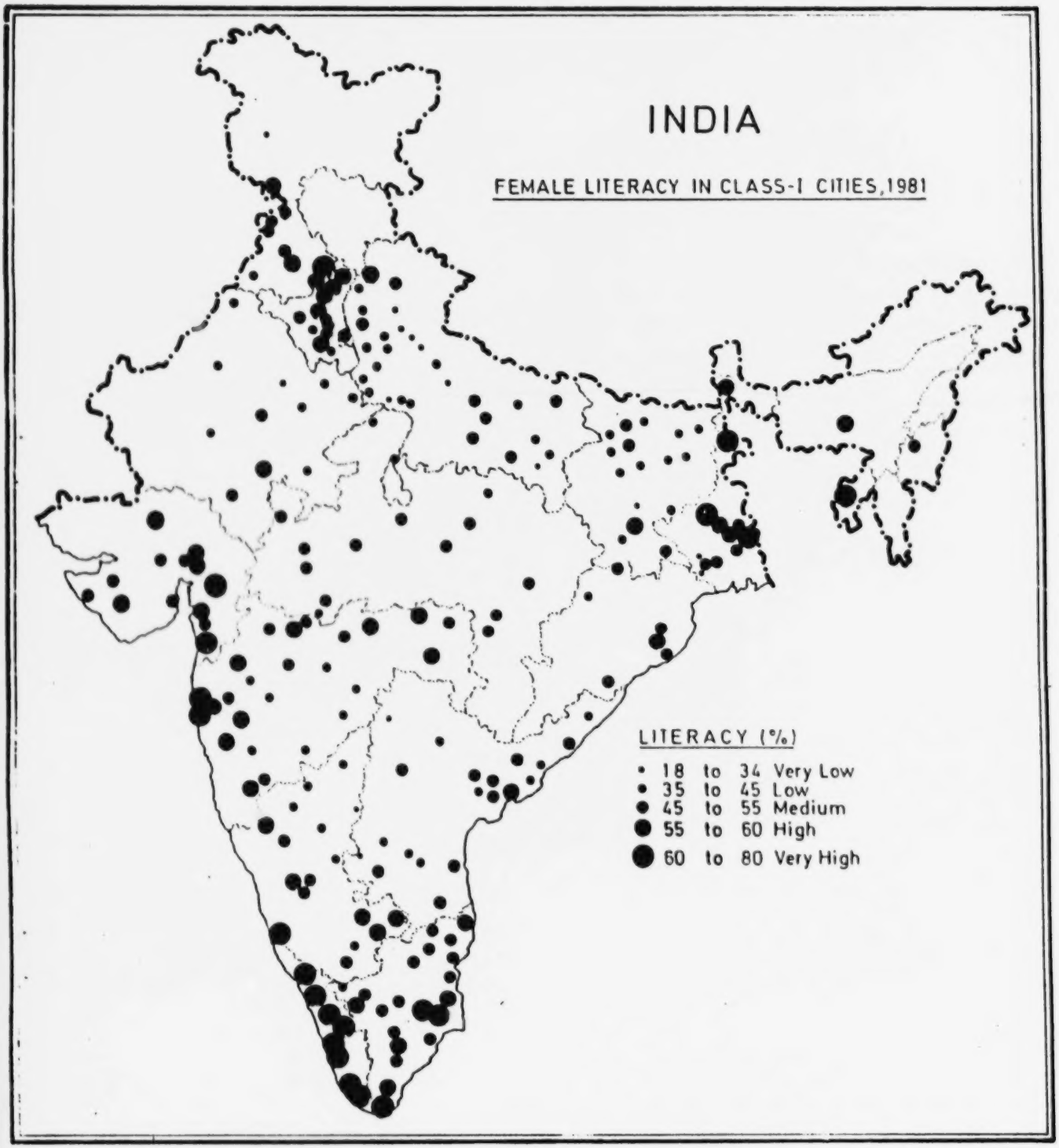
INDIA
FEMALE LITERACY IN CLASS-I CITIES, 1981
LITERACY (%)
18 to 34 Very Low
35 to 45 Low
45 to 55 Medium
55 to 60 High
60 to 80 Very High

Fig. 4

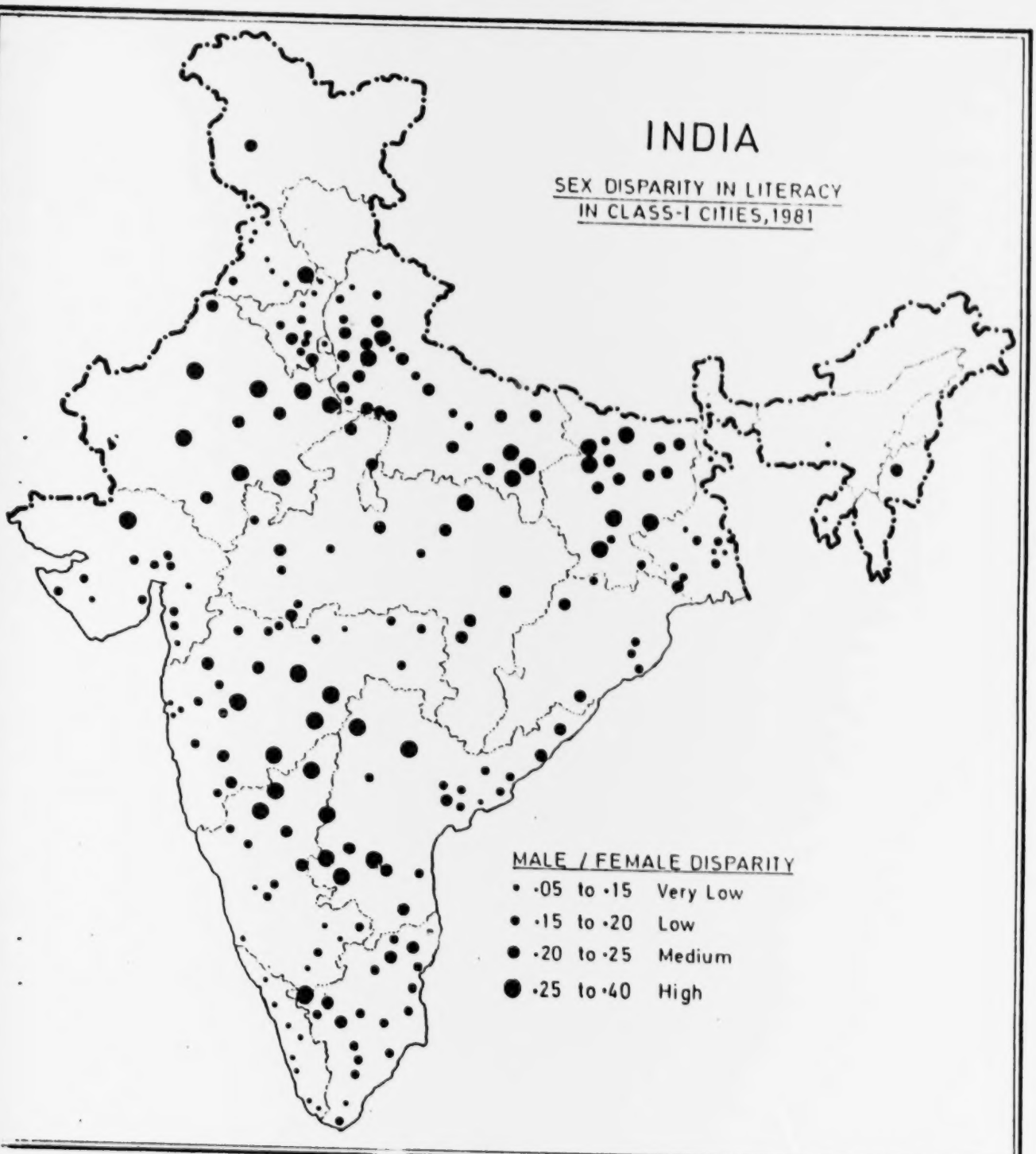
INDIA
SEX DISPARITY IN LITERACY
IN CLASS-I CITIES, 1981
MALE / FEMALE DISPARITY
• ·05 to ·15 Very Low
• ·15 to ·20 Low
• ·20 to ·25 Medium
• ·25 to ·40 High

Fig. 5

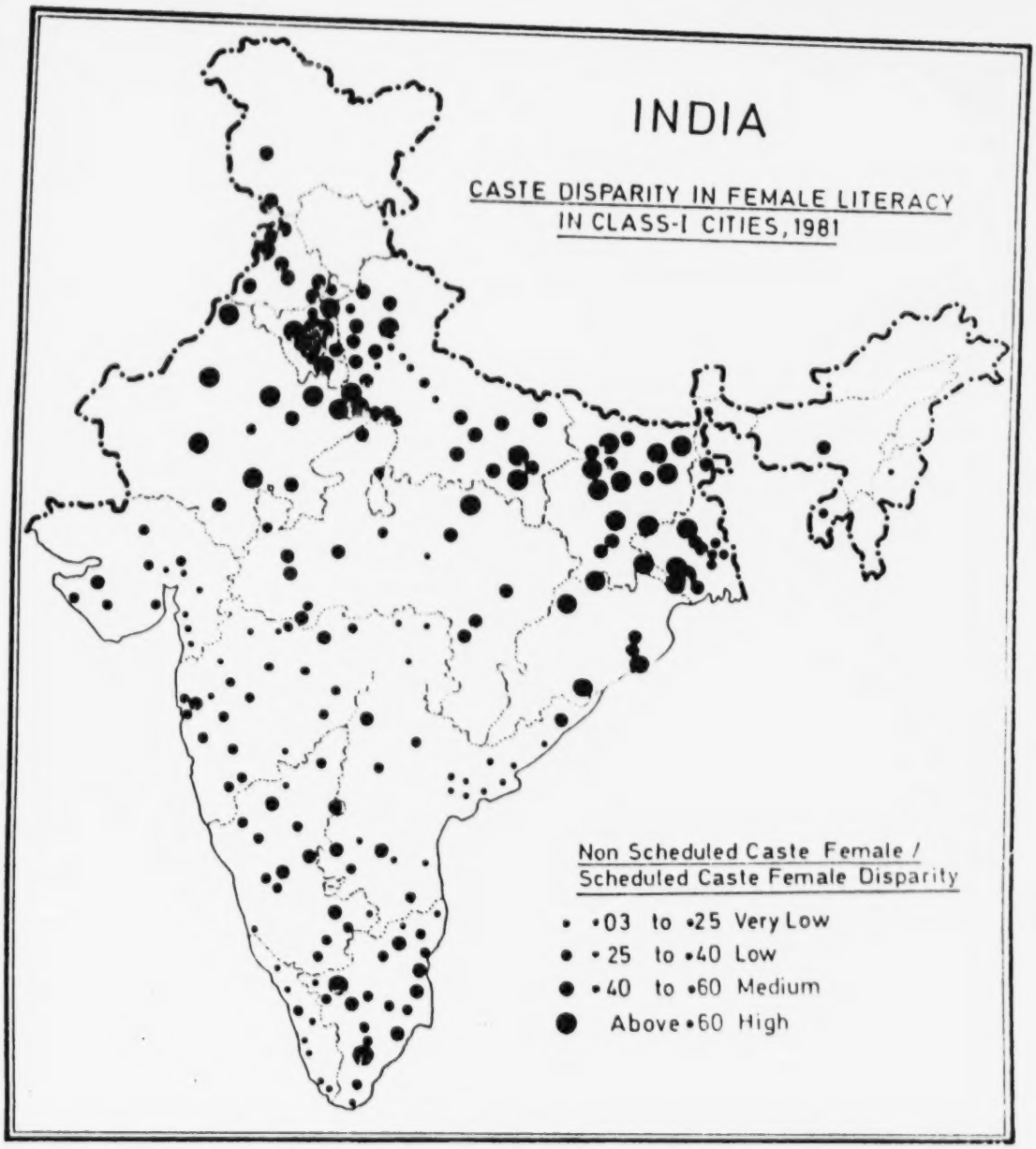
INDIA
CASTE DISPARITY IN FEMALE LITERACY
IN CLASS-I CITIES, 1981
Non Scheduled Caste Female /
Scheduled Caste Female Disparity
• ·03 to ·25 Very Low
• ·25 to ·40 Low
• ·40 to ·60 Medium
Above ·60 High

Fig. 5

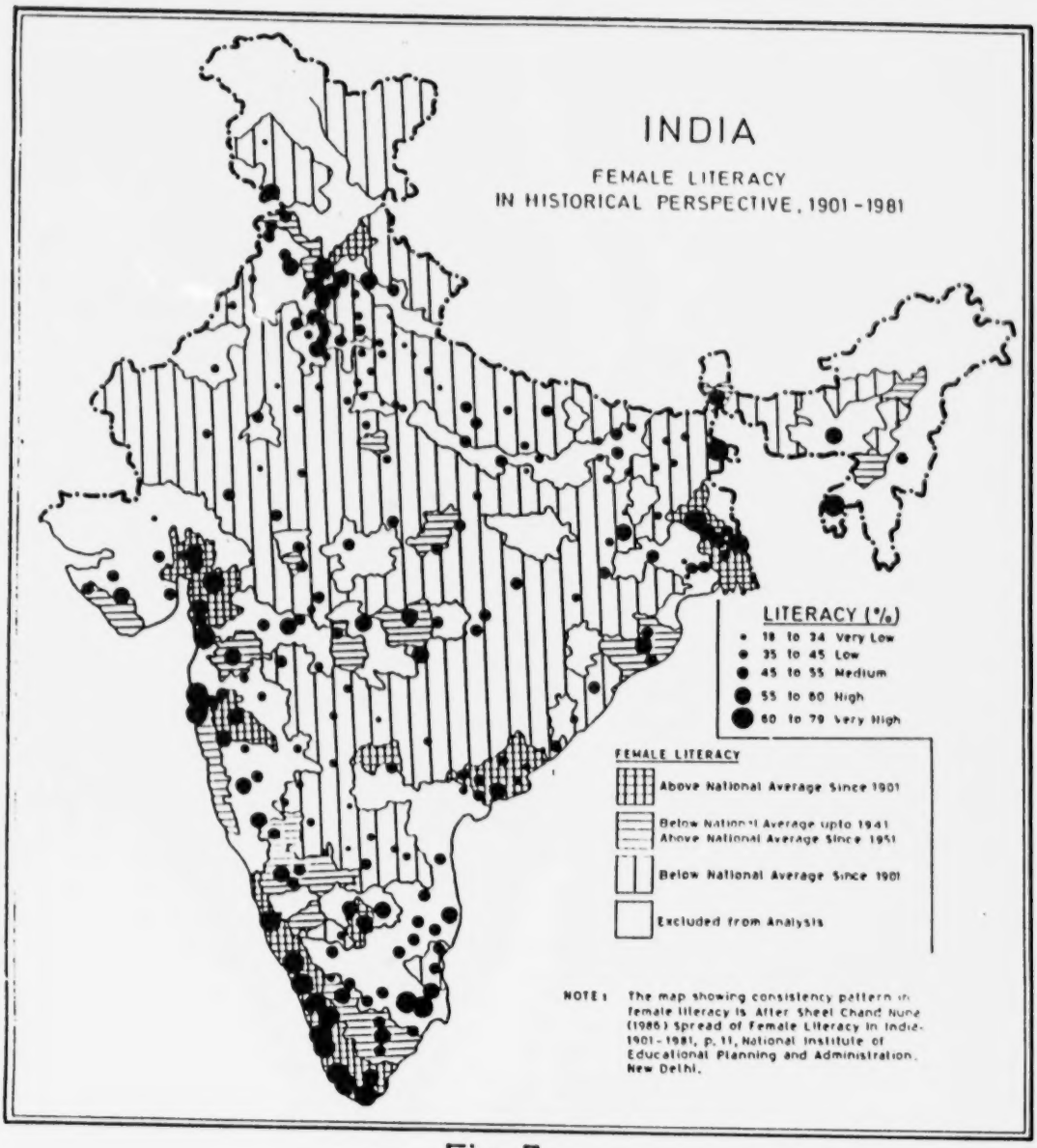
INDIA
FEMALE LITERACY
IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, 1901-1981
LITERACY (%)
18 to 34 Very Low
35 to 45 Low
45 to 55 Medium
55 to 60 High
60 to 79 Very High
FEMALE LITERACY
Above National Average Since 1901
Below National Average upto 1941
Above National Average Since 1951
Below National Average Since 1901
Excluded from Analysis
NOTE: The map showing consistency pattern in female literacy is After Sheel Chand Nune (1986) Spread of Female Literacy in India-1901-1981, p. 11, National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi.

Fig. 7